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the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matiale*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tulavaga uta*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauvi ale hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauvi tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauvi* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauvi* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pale*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletua, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 30 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own taro foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of taro bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private taro beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of taro preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to potter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata uuivo*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; taro beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the taro than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi ika*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano au yi kaloya, yi kakai, yeie pala..." (I am going to fish *kaloma*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*...); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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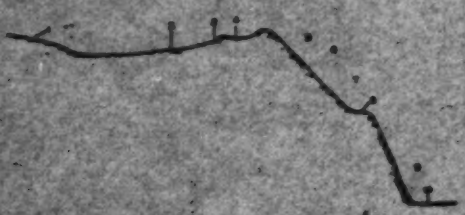

FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *uvuna*; 2, lagoon, *ala*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tauatawa*; 4, reef shelf, *alualu akau*, the reef circuit being termed *eyanga*; 5, surface water, *kilisi*; 6, sub-surface water, *uuiki*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *tuangangata*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te akau*; 9, greatest depth of water, *yale-tuangangata* (also called *uuvu*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te moana*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*, *akulo*, *ata*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupale*) for division. These fish were caught by the young men's (*tuangaga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 261). The old man divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tuangaga* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

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226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kaloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kaloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*kaukau*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kaloma* to be

stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent." This is strikingly parallel to Pukapukan, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupuna*. These men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whenever her paternal or maternal lineages or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahulonga a Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te tahulonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakatuteki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *motua utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the oldest first-born child of the succeeding *motua ya* (taya moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *motua utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kakiapuni (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.

Kalimoomoo (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.

Koomoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called *te tamaliki* or *te kauliki* (children).

Tauatiunga and *tautitinga* (to put on a malo or loin): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.

Kawaugatua: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called *lopa* and *tauawawine*.

Tama and *wawine*: married men and women, adults with families.

Matlvaka or *tangata matua*: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.

Tupuna: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general to have meetings.

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The *lopa*, *tane*, and *nonine* carried out much of the economic and social activity of the community. The *matiwaka* generally directed group activities by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of taio from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tangonga* fishing group.

All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *ononga* (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*. When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group; his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

It is related that long before the time of Taiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 391.) Taiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He became the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki wale*) by virtue of his experience and age and was then called the *wolo*. The *wolo* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed. The superior chief of the island was *te aliki wale o Te Ulu-o-te-matu* (the major chief of Head-of-the-ocean, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were